838 to cast about for a protective covering to shield themselves from the attacks of those who are different, just as the hedgehog is protected by its covering of quills -- a covering on which the attackers would cut their mouths and their caustic tongues. Such a covering was supplied by medicine -- it is said that homosexual intercourse is a "wealth medicine" (biǎ,n nkū'ma); see Volume II, page 23. This is the name applied to it in the following tale which was told to me.

838 There once was a man called bongo-be-ntuu-dumo (= boys -- which?) who had a daughter called akukebedanga who was very 539 beautiful (the name allegedly came from akúk = Achatina marginata [551] Sw. var. nigrofasciata Thiele, which is very beautiful, and from [825] adǎn = to surpass, because she was as unsurpassably beautiful as the Achatina snail; thus, if I understand it correctly, the name means "Achatina snail of unsurpassable beauty"). /272/

Now it happened one day that four young people met on the way to the village of Bongo (I shall thus abbreviate his name). They were all on their way to see the girl. They asked each other: "Whom are you going to see?" and each of them said: "Akukebedanga!" Then they conferred and agreed that they would go into the village together and wait to see whom the girl would love the most. The young people, who came from various families, were called (I place the abbreviation first):

Schok I, or by his full name he was called ž[k] bǒ žūa (explanation?);

Schok II, called ž[k] bǒ ngōne makę̌ makǒ,(ekę̌kǒ), that is, Schok, bōngōne (unknown) I am going away to come back later (= I shall be gone for some time);

Schok III, z[k], bǒ kǎ ję̌m bǒdžǒ melǎn (1),
Schok -- of not knowing speeches bad,

1. Instead of: belǎn.

that is, the Schok who speaks no evil, and

Schok IV, ž[k] bǒ nǔ'm e kūb bʼogbwā'le ba
Schok of: cock and francolin they
ję̌m e kī'dī ma lę̌ne.
know the mornings they begin.

2: Tessmann--140 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

1. Names and Name-giving

553 951 Immediately following the birth, but not before the detachment of the afterbirth, the child receives its name from the father who has already thought it up before the delivery but has kept it secret until then. The name is publicly announced, accepted without objection or formalities, and is considered to be the permanent principal name. The child receives a second name from his mother; many Pangwe designated this name as "big," that is, important -- probably because they had heard it exclusively from their mother in early childhood. Later, however, in giving their names, they usually mention the name given by the father, unless that name sounds unpleasant to the person concerned or if he wants to hide his identity with the intention of deceiving -- especially the Whites. In that case he prefers to use the name given by his mother. /278/

It is in any case a fact that the name given by the mother is close to its bearer's heart, and for this reason friends often use it as a pet name.

551 I shall herewith give a number of names that I learned, together with their explanations. As can be seen from the abbreviations of subtribes or tribal groups (N = northern Pangwe, S = southern Pangwe) placed after them, only a small number of the names is distributed over the entire Pangwe region; the majority do not extend beyond a few subtribes, so that a thoroughly experienced investigator can frequently tell by the name alone what a given native's place of origin is.

According to their basic significance, we can divide the names into the following groups:

I. Names of religious origin (only in the case of boys' names);
II. Names that allude to an attractive skin color;
III. Names that designate the desirable characteristics which one wishes for the child;
IV. Names that are supposed to bring good luck;
V. Names intended to indicate that the man will become the terror of his enemies;
VI. Names that express a bad characteristic, with the idea of thereby causing the bearer, on the contrary, to develop good characteristics;

551 VII. Names that report an event before or during the time of the child's birth.

A. Boys' names

I. Names of religious origin.

1. nsŏ̀m, from nsŏ́m = cult, sacred act, Ntum (Fang);
[825] 2. ngī = gorilla, as the animal of purity, symbol of the Ngi cult; the name Ngi, freely translated, means "the pure one" (S.);
3. estī́n = fruit of the Cardamom, chief food of the lemurs, used in the Ngi cult in like manner (1). /279/

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1. At least that is what I suspect, even though it is not quite certain, because it may be that Cardamom fruit is chosen because of its shiny red appearance, and in that case it would belong in the next section. On the whole I do not believe that in the case of names an immediate origin from religious institutions or conceptions is to be assumed. In this instance I simply followed the natives who told me that nsŏ̀m came from nsŏ́m, "cult." Now it is true that the Pangwe themselves are frequently mistaken in their explanation of words, but in the second place the name (nsŏ̀m) was given to me with a mediate high pitch; with the name for cult I hear a high pitch, while ichneumon (nsŏ̌m) has a mediate low pitch. But since the mediants are readily substituted (see Vol. I, p. 16 /Ed., not translated/), I assume that here the ichneumon and not the cult served as the root from which the name was derived. This assumption fits perfectly with the fact that the ichneumon,

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Herpestes melanurus Gray, which is called nsǒm, has a gray color which may well have given rise to the designation of a person by the name nsǒm. The name ngī, "gorilla," may also be meant as a symbol of strength, or, perhaps like esŭ'n, it may have been chosen because of the red color.

551 II. Names which allude to an attractive skin color and are for the most part derived from fauna or flora that the Pangwe finds especially beautiful.

According to the color, the following were mentioned to me.

(a) Red.

4. m,bă' = Turacus, actually the shiny red one;
[292] 5. ndūńo, from andūṅ = dancing cap made of touraco feathers (S.);
6. mvē' = redwood tree, Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub., because it is red.

(b) White.

7. mfūmū, from mfūm = white (S.);
8. asǭṅ = umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br., because of its white trunk (S.);
9. akŏ'm = bracelet made of ivory (Fang).

(c) Gray.

10. edŭ = African rat (in the Pangwe region displaced by the domestic rat) (S.);
11. tŭ̄lo = domestic rat, Mus rattus L.;

●551 12. ndă'ŋga = domestic rat, Mus rattus L.;
13. okŭ,du, from okŭ,dūgu = flycatcher, mainly Alseonax and Pedilorhynchus species because of their attractive mouse-gray color;
14. ngŏ[ŋ] myăk = Bdeogale nigripes Pucheran.

(d) Black.

15. myôno, from myôn IV - Satan's monkey, Colobus anthracinus Leconte.

(e) Light and dark, variegated.

16. zŏ = leopard, light and dark spots (S.);
17. žŏ,ĕ = civet cat, Viverra civetta, likewise (S.);
18. mangŏ, from mangŏmentĕ'me = pied wagtail, colored black and white (S.);
19. ndū,tŭmo, from ndū,tŭm = rainbow, variegated (S.).

III. Names that indicate the good qualities desired for the child.

20. ayŏŋ, from ayŏŋ = kinship group, familial group; he is to become an able representative of his kin group and show himself worthy of the good name which the kin group has in the tribe (S.);
21. mayŏŋ, plural same (Ntum); /280/
22. ejă,ăma, from a jă,[k] măm = to pay in case of controversies - thus, he is good-natured (S.);
23. owŭno = groundnut that tastes good; the bearer of the name is, therefore, just as "enjoyable" (Fang, Jaunde);
24. olō'(g)o, from alŏk = air-tuber yams, Dioscorea sativa L., the same explanation as for the preceding (S.);

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25. ogbwɛ̌, from a gbwɛ̌ madzŏ = to repeat things, something like chatterbox, by which the man makes himself popular because people like to hear it;
26. ekō = Lannea longifoliolata Engl., Anacardiacea, so he will be just as popular, as the tree is to the touraco which settle in its crown and eat its fruit (S.).

IV. Names that are supposed to bring luck.

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27. obūdu, from obūt = the grass Paspalum, so he will get things in great quantities, just as the grass exists in great quantities (S.);
28. ekōmo, from a kōmo bĭm = to acquire things, that is, he will acquire things himself since he has no sisters, etc., through whom he gets money, in other words, he is a self-made man (Jaunde);
29. atɛ̌ńă, from a tɛ̌ńa kūm = to become suddenly rich, to come up in the world, a parvenu in the good sense (S.);
30. atɛ̌ńdănɛ̌, likewise (Jaunde);
31. esĭ or besĭ, from evū besĭ = the capacity to acquire things, that is, he will acquire something for himself (S.);
32. olū, from a lū bĭm = to forge things, that is, he will earn money through working as a smith (the only handicraft in our sense).

551 V. Names intended to indicate that the man will be the terror of his enemies.

33. obă'm = bird of prey, chicken thief, a name which could also be included in the previous section if it is intended that the bearer will receive the things (onomatopoetic, băb; hence o-băm).

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otherwise it is terrifying since it designates robbery (S.);

34. olǎ́me, from olǎm = draw trap, that is, he will be to his enemies as the trap is for animals (S., Mwaï);
35. oyŭ́no, from oyŭ́n = ax, that is, he will be to his enemies as the axe is to trees (S.);
36. ewŭ́dŭ, from a wŭ́lŭ, a wŭ́dŭ = to murder, the murderer of men (Fang, Ntum);
37. avǫ̂do, from a yǫ̂t = to be tired, the people will become tired of molesting him since he is a very angry man and destroys his opponents;
38. mvǫ̂, from a bǒ mvɔ́la = to urge, to admonish, his father sends him out to admonish his debtors, perhaps the father is old so that the son will now collect the debts;
39. zǒk = elephant, he will be feared as much as an elephant;
40. nkizǫ́ǒ = elephants' spoor, he will make his way through people like the elephant through the jungle, in other words, he will destroy everything that stands in his way. /281/

VI. Names that express a bad characteristic, with the idea of thereby causing the bearer, on the contrary, to develop good characteristics.

41. njɛ́ma, from njɛ́m = tail, as the essence of animal characteristics (S.);
42. ntŭ́k = spoiled (S.);
43. nkǫ̆abŭ́nu, from nkǫ́k = tree trunk that has fallen down, bŭ́nu = a thorny tree whose scientific name I am unable to give; also occurs as a nickname and is supposed to mean worthless and bad (Ntum);
44. mapfǒ́ = I am a talebearer, likewise used as a nickname (Jaunde, Fang, Ntum);
45. bekǫ̆ńǒ, from a kǫ́ń = to snore, a jocular name (Ntum).

551 VII. Names that report an event before or at the time of the child's birth.

46. bokǎ́ = sisters, he has only sisters and hence is the only son (S.);
47. epfū́man, from a pfū́man = to miss, when the bearer of the name was born his father had already sold all his sisters, so the son "missed" the advantages that the sale of the sisters would have brought him;
48. engūno, from engū́na mbǔ̄n = dried cassava rolls for the period of famine, supposed to indicate that his mother bore him during a famine;
49. majé'be = I am yearning for something, that is, the father had yearned for a son (S.);
50. mabā́ = neck pieces of game, the father loved these pieces (Fang);
51. abō'sō̌, from a bō sǒ = he was the spirit of contradiction, that is to say, the father; to judge by the past tense, he seems to be tame at present, however;
52. mesā́'ǎ, masā́'ǎ, from a sǎ'ma ayǔ'k = to settle an imbroglio; the father is supposed to have done this, but it might possibly refer to the son himself, and in that case it would belong to Division III;
53. nkǔ,lǔ, from a wū,lū a kǔ,lǔ kǔ,lǔ (onomatopoetic) = to go softly, thus the father went to the wife;
54. abǔ́du, from a bǔ́du mōt = to cover someone, to protect, thus the mother protected her child from her brother;
55. žō,gō, from aža̍ok = a familial group of the Fang; the mother was born an Aschok; today this is a generalized name.

VIII. Explanation unknown.

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56. engṹha, from engṹń = Deinbollia reticulata Gilg, Sapindinaceae; interpretation unknown;
57. osé'le = a tree unknown to me;
58. nsō' = the fish, Sarcodaces odoe (Bl.), perhaps because of its dangerousness to other fish (like our pike), in which case it would be a name designed to inspire terror; perhaps because of its silver-gray color. /282/

B. Girls' names

I. Names which refer to a beautiful skin color and are for the most part taken from fauna and flora that the Pangwe finds particularly beautiful.

According to the color, the following were mentioned to me.

(a) Red.

1. ndžo̱o, from ndžo̱k = dancing cap made of touraco feathers;
2. ngũĩ = pig, evidently because the pig has a reddish color;
3. ngũĩ,dáńa, from ngũĩ = pig, and adáń = to surpass, hence a female who surpasses a pig.

(b) White.

4. mfũmũ = the white one, also a man's name;
5. nsǒfũmũ = nsǒ = smooth, shiny, the shimmering white one;
6. mbáń = ivory;
7. mbáńzo̱o, from mbáń = ivory, žo̱k = elephant;
8. mfũmezo̱k = the white (the tusk) of the elephant;
9. mǒnembáń = little ivory;

551 10. akī'ngǎna = akī = egg, ngǎn = crocodile, crocodile's egg because of its whiteness.

(c) Gray.

11. abǒǫ̌, from abǒ'k = Mus hypoxanthus Puch. (this may also belong to (e).

(d) Black.

12. nšūdū, from nšú't = black, the black one;
13. mesī s] me žǒk = tail hairs of the elephant, which are shiny black.

(e) Light and dark, variegated.

14. ojǎ'ne, from ojǎn = Poiana poensis Waterh., civet;
15. ežǔ'na, probably Tragelaphus albovirgatus;
16. myǫ̂do, from myǫ̂t = brass, with brilliant variegated colors; perhaps also because of the yellow (red) coloration, in which case it belongs with (a).

II. Names that designate good qualities desired for the bearer.

17. nsč'č from a sě'č = admire, because everybody admires the girl's beauty;
18. nkǒ'ne, from nkǒn = stalk, because the girl is as slender as a stalk;
19. nkǒ'nengǫ́no = nkǒn = stalk, ngǫ́n = girl, same as above;
20. kömabǔ'ne, from kaa mabǔ'n = not vain;
21. avǔ'mǔ, from avǔ'm = Landolphia ochracea K. Sch., because of its delicious fruit, that is, the girl will be just as delicious;

551 22. akŭlabǎ́ǹ, from akŭ l] = paws, claws, abǎ́ǹ = otter, i.e., the girl steals about as softly as an otter;

23. ntǒdē-abǎ́ǹ = single otter, as above;

24. mǒneabǎ́ǹ = small otter;

25. abǎ́ne-mŭ́ŭ́, from abǎ́ǹ = otter, mŭ́gebŭ́ = to adorn oneself, to go about adorned. /283/

551 777 III. Names that are supposed to bring luck.

26. ajēkǎ́be, from a jē = difficult, a kǎ́be = to buy, to exchange; may also be included in the previous group since the girl has such good qualities that the price cannot readily be realized;

27. majīzé, from a jīzé = to wake up quickly, the girl is supposed to wake up quickly so that she will soon bear fruit (that is, bring in the purchase price); see divorce (Vol. II, pages 120 and 121);

28. angō'no or angōnemǎ́ne, from ngō'n = girl, a mǎ́ne = to be ready, that is, the stage of girlhood is supposed to be over soon;

29. ajǎ́'nekŭs, from ajǎ́ǹ-nkŭs = Liliacea, purchasable medicine (nkŭs); the girl is supposed to bring in as much as she would if her father had this medicine;

30. medzě, a dzě a tǒbǔ́ a dzǎ́ = she has fulfilled the time for staying in (her) village, that is, she will marry at the proper time;

31. metǒ, from a tǒbǔ́ = to sit, I am sitting, that is, she should not be forced to work too much (by her future husband, of course), but instead she should remain seated in the village.

551 IV. Names intended to frighten away, in this case presumptuous suitors or secret lovers.

32. atsǎ́ma, from a tsǎ́ma = to break down (a village), "because the father would destroy the village out of grief

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and anger if the girl were to be abducted; in case the lover hears that such have been the consequences, he may bring the girl back again";

33. aš̆ú bannémé, a ɓú b = to be enraged, a nném = at heart, perhaps in reference to the father, perhaps to the husband (so it was asserted, anyway) who will become very angry in case of adultery.

V. Names that report an event before or at the time of birth.

34. ají'ngɔ̄'n, from a jí = to wish for, ngɔ̄'n = girl, because the mother had only boys and now wished for a girl;
35. menkɔ̌́ = young men, since the mother already has many boys;
36. asángɔ̄'no, from a sa a ngɔ̄'n = he (or she) has no girl, that is, had no girl hitherto, and this one is the first;
37. adā', from a dán = to surpass, to be very many, because the mother has borne many children, and this is the last one; thus it was explained to me, although doubtless other explanations are possible;
38. ntɔ̄'ngɔ̄'no, from ntɔ̄' = eldest, ngɔ̄'n = girl;
39. mapfū mana, from a pfū mán = to miss, since she saw neither father nor mother;
40. bejé, from a ntɔ̌ bejé a nném = he is already sad at heart, referring to the father because "he does not know whether his daughter will stay alive";
41. okɔ̌'mo, from okɔ̌'m = Micania rusticana Klatt., Compositae, popular among the women, especially the mother. /284/

VI. Explanation unknown.

42. belɔ̄ɔ̄, from belɔ̄'k = herb;
43. abɔ̌'(g)e, from abɔ̌'k = Gynura repidioides Bth., eaten by women.

551 There are very few names that are used for boys as well as for girls. I am acquainted only with Mfumu and Mangöö, both of which, incidentally, were used more often for girls than for boys.

Nicknames are common. The Negroes, who are always in-
[522] clined to jokes and teasing, delight in making fun of the weaknesses of their fellows and constantly heckling them. A peculiar characteristic or a comical incident produces the nickname, and the latter is retained without anyone later ever knowing its original meaning. "Famous" people frequently have a whole
551 539 series of nicknames, like the chief's son Amwön-Ekang, whose names are immortalized in the following jocular song:

amvŏn-ekăn -- anduman ekăn ana -- sŏsŏ'
Amwön-Ekang -- son (of) Ekang now -- sapsucker (on)

nkūm --ewăs nŭm e kŭn -- a kike
tree stump -- file -- man (in) salt water -- chop off

melŏ' me zŏn -- ažŏ'n a wūmūk, ndzŏm a
(the) heads of the fern -- Solanum (1) it forms, pluck he

1. Solanum esculentum Don.

tĕlĕk -- mekū(n) medzăa, nnĭé a mbĕt
stands (ready) -- caterpillars to eat, mother has climbers

asŏn kă bekăĭ, abŏ'm kă medzĭ,
-- Musanga no guy ropes, Macrolobium (2) no buttress roots

2. Macrolobium straussianum Harms.

-- mone ngŏn eja (bondănga madzăa).
-- son (of a) girl of Eja (Bondanga Madscha = chief of the Eja).

Amwön-Ekang, the son of Ekang, as everybody knows, --
(the following are jocular names) sapsucker on a tree stump

551 (something small, delicate on something gigantic, strong) -- file
539 (something that destroys something else) -- man in salt water (unclear, perhaps corresponding to our "cart that is stuck in the mud"). -- One chops off the young leaf tips of the fern (since this is the food of women, it is unsuitable for a man). -- The Solanum puts forth fruit, and the harvester stands ready (sense clear). -- The caterpillars that sit on the trees are ripe for eating, and the mother has a climber who gets them down (this refers to Amwõn himself). -- The Musanga has no guy ropes (lianas, and so forth), the Macrolobium no buttress roots. -- Son of one born an Eja.

551 As one can see, the jocular names, like the drum names (chiefly in the south), are largely taken from a kind of proverbial speech /285/ that alludes to a peculiarity of the bearer; the peculiarity was no longer known in the foregoing case.

Of course, the Whites also have their nicknames; indeed, they are known almost exclusively by these since the natives usually do not know the European names or cannot pronounce them.

To the name given by the father, the father's own name is added. If, for instance, the father is called Essun and the son is called Boka, the complete name of Boka is Boka-Essun, that is, Boka, son of Essun, or -- with a genitive particle -- Boka Bossun(e); if Boka's son is called Ayong, his complete name is Ayong-Boka, etc. (1).

[113]

1. Von Stein (Mitteilungen aus den Schutzgebieten /Reports from the German Protectorates/, Vol. 12, p. 137) says of the Bane (= Bene): "Almost all names are double names, and in sharp contrast to the custom of the Bakoko /Koko/ (should probably read: Bassá), the name occupying the second place almost always signifies the mother's name. Only in very exceptional cases does the Bane, if he has an especially famous father, add the baptismal name, if I may use the term, of his father's name. Balingekorre thus

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means: Balinge, son of Ekore."

The custom of the Bane of adding the mother's name to one's own, as reported here, is found also among the Jaunde according to Zenker (Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, Vol. 8, p. 50).

Family names in our sense are unknown to the Pangwe. Towards strangers they use the name of the kin group, which is after all to be understood as a "family" in the Pangwe sense; to this, at the same time, is added the name of the mother's familial group. My faithful factotum, Ayong, who has already been presented to the reader in the picture on Plate 3 /Ed., Vol. I/, would, for instance, introduce himself as follows:

[539]

ma	ne	ayŏn-bokă,	mōne	esăwŏ'n,
I	am	Ajong-Boka,	child (of the family)	Essauong,

mone	ngō'n	esatŏp.
child (of a)	girl (of the)	Essatop.

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To learn this complete name by heart is the child's first task. Once the child can recite it without a mistake, the father, proud of the cleverness of his offspring, proceeds to the further task of acquainting the little one with the names of his grandfather and great-grandfather (naturally on the father's side). Let us again take an example.

The child is called Ndungo, his father Essun, from the Abai family, in other words: ndŭngo-esū'n, mōne abai, etc., Ndungo of Essun from the Abai family. -- "But from whom am I, Essun, descended?" asks the father. "esū'n-nzĕma, that is, Essun from Nsema," is the answer. "And from whom is Nsema descended = nzĕma nza?" "nzĕma-ngĕĕ." -- The child learns it all very quickly, because as regards its ability to grasp things /286/, the Negro child is far superior to white children. -- The Pangwe, however, does not stop with the grandfather. Each of these black gentlemen has all his ancestors in his head, just like our feudal lords. To be sure, none of them knows more about them than

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551 their names. Our Ndungo was able to enumerate eleven ancestors, his father Essun, then Nsema, Ngää, Massoo, Obute, Akiege, Asangui, Awodo, Tulo, Nssim, Okudu.

Generally speaking, the Pangwe probably know on the average eight or ten ancestors by name; not infrequently one even hears 10, or 12, and 14 represented the maximum.

Frequently a lengthy cognomen is added to the last ancestor, which gives the whole a magnificent final effect, somewhat in the way that among us the descendants of a famous man trace their genealogical tree back to him: "I am descended from that person, and his father was called so-and-so, and his father in turn was so-and-so, the famous general who in such-and-such a war won such-and-such a victory." Thus the ancestral table of an Esseng man by the name of Aböschoo went as follows: Ogbue, Ngumbaschoo, Edu, Ngumu, Bokoo, Motoo, Ossele, Akuschoo Bebe -- ayĕm esĕb ya andŭm = the Akuschoo Bebe, who knew when the dry season comes and when it rains (explanation of the latter part uncertain).

551 539 211 A jocular poem in which a boy poses questions while another answers enumerates no fewer than 21 ancestors:

"o mbe lŭk e vĕ?" -- "a jŏm." "oa
You were driving fish where? -- In the Sannaga. You

vüi dzĕ?" -- "nwô̤s."
killed what? -- (A) shrimp.

"za a dzĭ?"
Who it eat? (Who will eat it?) -- "Abele."

"Abele sa?" (= from whom is Abele descended). "Abele-Boka" (Abele is the son of Boka). "Boka bo sa?" "Boka bo Ssissi." "Ssissi sa?" "Ssissi Mening." "Mening sa?" "Mening me Koebe." "Koebe sa?" "Koebe Kum." "Kum sa?" "Kum Otsaa." "Otsaa sa?" "Otsaa Maniodo." "Maniodo sa?" "Maniodo Ssamwinne." "Ssamwinne sa?" "Ssamwinne a Ssongo." "Ssongo sa?" "Ssongo Abui." "Abui sa?" "Abui

551 Nkumu." "Nkumu sa?" Nkumu Bawu." Bawu sa?" "Bawu Otoo."
539 "Otoo sa?" "Otoo Kuboo." "Kuboo sa?" "Kuboo Emwi."
211 "Emwi sa?" "Emwi Abungo." "Abungo sa?" "Abungo a Schiele."
"Schiele sa?" "Schiele Maa." "Maa sa?" "Maa Makama."
"Makama sa?" Makama

me nga būge nana abō:
who lived to break (of the) mother the leg,
tsǎ́s
tsass (onomatopoetic).

551 A remnant of the old aversion of all primitive peoples to
578 mention names, because thereby some kind of mischief might result, can still be observed among the Pangwe. /287/ They do not like to utter their names before strangers, and they find a question about their full names (in other words, including that of the father) tactless, indeed, almost insulting, as I frequently noticed among the Fang who had not had any contact with outsiders. It is also an insult in every respect to remind someone of his ancestors. This need not even be done by name -- since, after all, they do not always know the names -- but can be done with just the words: I shall "show" you your ancestors. This is taken as a threat of sorcery, that is, secret murder, and as though one were telling his enemy in advance that he would kill him and transport him to his ancestors. Such an insult is often avenged with the sword.

2. Child Rearing

861 The child is reared by means of precept and example, rarely by threats, and almost never -- at least only in case of major offenses against morality, such as theft, for instance -- by means of corporal punishment. The result must be termed an extremely good one; Pangwe children behave more tactfully and better than our children of the same age.

867 We are informed by some "experts on the Negro's soul" that
861 the Blacks have no sense of honor. A glance at their family life, however, teaches us the opposite. In rearing the child, the

761 in the etok and stays there for a certain length of time. While she is
789 in this bath, she eats a soup made of the rest of the bark gathered by the practitioner, together with a pumpkin, a piece of the heart, liver, and some blood of the sacrificial animal, all cooked in a pot. This remedy is intended to satisfy the evur and prevent it from eating the blood of the woman or of the child which she may carry in her womb in the future.

761 The death of the child may also arise from an akaga given to its mother, which predicted that one of her children would not live.

761 Finally, if there is neither evur nor akaga, this mishap is believed
784 to be caused by the violation of a prohibition or, more likely, by
837 adultery committed by the woman during her pregnancy. To make her denounce her accomplice, she is beaten until she has named him. This man must then pay to the husband an indemnity equal to half the dowry which he spent to get his wife, an indemnity which represents the price of the adultery and the price of the child's corpse. The woman is subjected from then on to the prohibition of awos until the the birth of her next child.

854 The child (mon). Until it talks, the child is called nkañele. We We have seen that after its birth it is washed in cold water and not fed until the following morning. The breast is first given it by another woman rather than by the mother, whose milk is not good at first.

At the age of eight days, the child is smeared with ba. If the cord dries up by itself without trouble, it is enough to moisten it with saliva.

845 Anomalies such as the birth of an albino or of twins are considered
[143] normal. The natives have stated that albinos are reproduced in the same family at an interval of three generations. As to twins, they are forbidden later on to take part in the ngwel. If the twins are boys,
[557] the first is called Nzugo, the second Dzima; if they are girls, they are given the names respectively of Bela and Nzua.

551 A name is not given a child until several months after birth, when one is almost certain that it will live. A child receives several names. The father chooses the first name from among his ancestors. For example, a boy will be called Osene from the name of a paternal ancestor, to this name of Osene has been added the name of his father Ekomi, and so the child is called Osene Ekomi; but he also has a sort of first name chosen by the parents, which in the present case is [84] Andzang. The complete name thus is Andzang Osene Ekomi. The mother's

family has given him a second name, Ekure Nzork (elephant hide), which corresponds to the wish made by the grandparents that their grandson may be as tough as elephant hide. Still other names may be given by other relatives, each of these corresponding to an affectionate feeling or a wish for the child. Andzang [misprinted Andang in original] has a third name given by the wife of one of his uncles, Nzui Weya (young civet), that is to say "as handsome as a civet," civet skin formerly having been worn as an ornament by young Pahouin wanting to make female conquests.

When a man has had several children who have died at an early age, in order that the newborn may not die like the others he gives him the name of an animal: Ngi (gorilla), Waga (chimpanzee), Nze (panther), Mvina (antelope), etc...

Sometimes the child receives a name referring to an incident of his birth. A child may be called: Mefan (from afan, the forest), if he is born in the forest; Bemvaṅ (from mvaṅ, rain), if he was born in the rain or on a rainy day; or Bitegė (from eteg, mourning), if he was born after the death of his father, during his mother's mourning, etc...

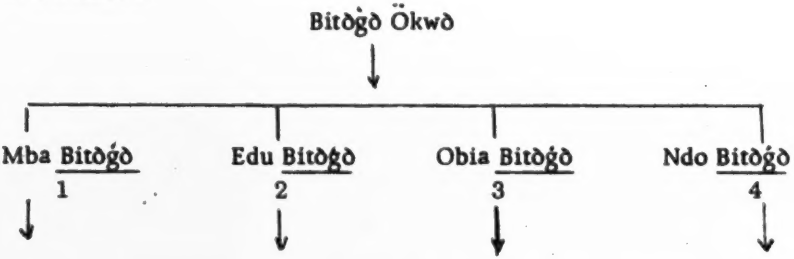
Actually in all the N'Djolé region children are given a Christian name in addition to their native names, even if neither the parents nor the child have any contact with the missions. It is also quite usual to see children bearing European proper names, names which were given them because the parents thought them pretty. Similarly, one meets children called Captain, Major, Militiaman, etc... , and always the parents give as reason for their choice that the name taken for the child is beautiful.

The child belongs to its father and cannot be dependent on the mother unless she has been repudiated and the father has waived his claim to reimbursement.

Nursing continues until eighteen months or two years, but at about the age of six months, in addition to the breast, the child gets the same food as its parents except for fish, meat, and salt, which are forbidden him.

The physical care given the child is reduced to the minimum: he lives naked until the age of about ten years and is bathed every day. When he can walk, he is put on his own and plays with the other children of the village, boys and girls together. While he is still rather

614 551 ● Incidentally, the method of naming peculiar to the Fang is evidence of a fundamental social segment, the group of brothers, real and half (siblings and half-siblings). Thus there are the sons of Bitɔ̀gɔ̀ Ökwo who form the "heads" of four minor lineages still in existence:



The names themselves emphasize this double orientation, the vertical showing the real filiation and the horizontal showing the real brotherhood, which characterizes Fang social structure. Around such a horizontal segment the village (in this particular case Sam village) is constituted, and inside such a segment are produced the fissions giving birth to separate lineages. From the clan to the minor lineage the groupings must be defined in terms of these two dimensions, thus showing a structure that could be called both segmental and interlocked.

614 578 621 But this overlapping is not sufficient to bind the groupings together and to impose a hierarchy. Ruptures have been frequent and can be explained by the mechanism of Fang expansion, by economic factors, and by causes of a structural nature. By analyzing the lineages settled at the level of a fixed region, one notes that those whose origin goes back to an eldest son (ntɔ̀l-mɔ̀t are larger in number and are the basis of the local population. The Yèngwi studied above show this very specifically.

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> the saying: "If the woman is the receptacle in which all can quench their thirst, she should not be carried off."

between these collective sanctions, and the very broad morality which allows a girl to "celebrate her youth" and which appears in the proverb: "Woman is an ear of dry corn in which anyone with teeth may bite." Marriage strengthens the socialization of woman, imposing on her [122] unconditional submission. One might say, to quote R. Bastide, that it consists in passing from "lustful sexuality" to "social sexuality."

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The social character of marriage is emphasized symbolically. A series of ceremonies mark the admission of the woman into the group that is receiving her. The mother of her husband recites the latter's genealogy, and a segregation of a week is imposed on her, after which she undergoes a coming-out ritual — she is bathed and anointed with oil by the oldest woman relative — [551] and she receives a new name, indicating a wish, which the other women give to her at a time of song and dance. (1) The "alliance"

> 1. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., p. 89.

concluded between the two family groupings is demonstrated by meals taken together and by rejoicing (éyalö), and above all, it is [769] consecrated by the sacrifice of an animal destined for the biéri (ancestors' altar) of the young girl's parents, showing that bonds exist not only with the group of living but also with the community of ancestors. (2) The emphasis is thus laid on taking possession of

> 2. No doubt it is necessary to link this sacred character of the alliance to the violence of collective reactions provoked by "women affairs."

the posterity (in this respect the recitation of the genealogy appears to be very significant) and on the creation of an alliance (the same

562 except in a sporadic and very degenerate form; we mention the
795 N'nup with a whole string of "queens" that has appeared in the neighboring regions of Spanish Guinea.

562 This ambiguity in the position of woman to a certain extent
578 creates an equilibrium. On the other hand, from the point of
837 view of sentimental relations, this is not true. The man who admits that marriage should be regulated primarily in terms of social considerations hopes to obtain some day a "favorite" wife and has little fear of sanctions connected with adultery. The woman, married young, remains prisoner of the system and is always threatened with severe sanctions. Apparently this results in the many disputes which were referred to by the first administrators. "Very often the woman abandons her husband and returns to her parents' village or follows a man of her choice..." (Archives of Libreville, 1909). They were also referred to by the first Fang scholars: "The Pahouin woman does not hesitate to leave with a lover; often married against her wishes she avenges [152] this state of things by a very great infidelity" (L. Mba, op. cit.). The expression used by this author is significant. What might be called the sentimental excuse permits a broader reaction responding to frustrations of another nature. We must see there the sign of tensions which are actualized at the only possible level. Let us add that the conditions created by colonization will liberate these tensions to a great extent by destroying the equilibrium obtained approximately by traditional means.

561 These tensions are not the only ones to be mended. Between
578 generations, that of the ésa and that of the mwanö, on the same
784 segment between the eldest and the younger brothers, it appears that relationships of dependency can turn into antagonisms. Soon
● [55] after his birth the young boy is "marked" by his ascendants, receiving a double name (essential in relation to other denominations) which contains the name of an ancestor of his paternal line (of a mvam) and the first term of his father's name. In addition to individual interdicts imposed by his father, the child is subject to various general interdicts which are removed by degrees as the child becomes a man. Thus, there is the interdict on the pig (1), and on

1. The pig appears as a valuable animal

river again (until now she has washed in her hut), puts on new clothes presented by her husband, and starts cooking for him again and working in her garden. Special purification has been carried out if the baby has died in the interval. The prohibition against sexual relations lasts as long as the child is at the breast; to break this taboo would make it nyu meyôm, drink sperm, which might lead to its death.

Postpartum care is given by the mbialé binga, then by the woman's mother or aunt or ntyi. This consists of vaginal douches and external and internal napkins of vegetable compresses.

The baby may be suckled only by its mother or a woman of the mother's blood, a grandmother or maternal aunt. If this is impossible, the baby cannot live (at least in rural districts where concentrated milk is unknown). Traditional pharmacopoeia possesses, however, extraordinary vegetable lactic stimulants, probably without equivalent in the European pharmacopoeia.

b. Childhood

The old custom was not to name (yôlé) the baby until it was taken out of the house; until then it was usually called by the name of a small animal, like "squirrel" or "palm rat." Nowadays the name is given within a few days of birth, if for no other reason than to comply with citizenship regulations. /93/

A name, jɔ́ or jui (also meaning nose, order, command, authority) includes the éyɔ́lé, the individual's own name, and the atinan, complementary name chosen from the biyɔ́lé of ancestors according to clan or family traditions, which are on the decline. Formerly, a cognomen was added to these, a mebatan (1) or jɔ́ mebatan (lit. salutation name), sometimes conferred at initiation. This mebatan

1. Trilles translates this word as "genealogy": lañ mebatan means both "to recite the genealogy" and "to recite the salutation," simply because this was in fact the formal way of introducing oneself; a newcomer's genealogy determined how his hosts would "greet" him. True genealogy, pedigree, is éndan, related to ndan, tattoo mark, emblem.

551 may serve as atinan to the next generation and after that becomes the éyôlé: thus, a chief with the cognomen Atyaminlam, destroyer of villages, will have a son called Mbutu Atyaminlam and grandson Atyaminlam Mbutu.

551 177 Influenced by French customs there has been, since the establishment of regulations for native citizenship, a stabilizing of patronymics, especially in official circles. A new patronymic may have begun as the father's atinan or éyôlé or mebatan systematically given to all his children as an éyôlé. Furthermore, conversion to Christianity has led to adding a Christian name to the jôé, which may serve in place of an éyôlé or be joined with a native éyôlé. Thus, for example, Ze Mvondo, with the cognomen Mebianga (man of drugs, because of a sickly childhood), is baptized Solomon in a Christian mission and becomes by contraction Solomon Mebianga. He may give his mebatan as an atinan to all his children and we should then have Menge Mebianga, Oyônô Mebianga, etc., with a Christian name besides, or he may give them his mebatan as éyôlé, without atinan, with only a Christian name. There are other solutions besides, often the result of a vogue, from the names of men famous internationally or locally, dead or living (De Gaulle, Pascalet, Victor Hugo) to the orthographic Gallicizing of the jôé chosen as patronymic (Aubame, Minguet, etc.).

551 I have referred to the old rules controlling the choice of elements of a name. The éyôlé could be connected with some event at birth or during gestation; could have been suggested by a dream or a diviner; be deprecatory so as to break an evil spell; could result from a prohibition imposed on the father or mother, etc. It could also reflect the genealogical rank of the bearer, though this function was restricted more to the atinan chosen from the biyolé of the male and female forebears of both lineages. Nowadays the trend is to give as atinan always the father's éyôlé, sometimes the mother's, especially in the case of illegitimate children. According to Trilles, a name also had a totemic significance, also connecting it with genealogy. All this has by now pretty well passed into oblivion.

From the linguistic point of view, the majority of proper names are common nouns, occasionally heightened: mvôm (python), Mvômô; /94/ afan (forest), Afana; zok (elephant), Zo'o, etc.; or else phrases: Ebéndeñ (e bee éndeñ), "shield-bearer;" Atyaminlam (a tyam minlam), "destroyer of villages," etc. They are usually

551 epicene but tend to be attributed more to a particular sex—thus, it is rather rare to find a girl called Ze or a boy Nyangono.

854 In any case a baby, ntyen or nkeñelé, is not considered a human [858] being until it receives a name. After the first going out from the 551] house /the churching/ and until weaning, that is, for eighteen months or two years, the mother carries it everywhere with her, in a fold of her loincloth or in a sling for the purpose, doé or awoé, then, when it can stand by itself, astride her hip. The nkeñelé is given almost no training; the mother gives it the breast whenever the baby cries and does not attempt toilet training; a father occasionally plays with sons, rarely with daughters. Older sisters help the mother to take care of the baby, for instance, watching it in the shade while she is working in the fields or carrying the baby for her when she is overburdened.

862 Weaning often occurs in stages; the child begins to take solid food while still at the breast, sometimes before it is a year old. But it [854] does not stop being considered a baby, nkenele, and become a child, mongó, until it walks and begins to talk pretty well. From that time 854 on, it must learn to respect its personal prohibitions and clan taboos; often an older brother or sister will be charged to supervise him. Separation of the sexes increases with age; at about the fourth year children are no longer allowed to see adults of the opposite sex naked; around the fifth year, boys and girls, bo'befam and bo'binga, stop [857] playing together.

857 Games are to a great extent mixed with the learning of future tasks: 861 little girls play at housekeeping and sometimes with dolls; little boys hunt rats with the bow, throw small assagais at moving targets, set snares, etc. But there are also "free" games like jacks, cat's cradle, blindman's buff, common to both sexes, ndongo tops made of snail shells for boys, émvala or /a kind of/ dance for girls. Children also have their own dances distinct from those of adults and peculiar to each sex. They start working as soon as they know the taboos, girls helping their mothers, boys beginning to learn masculine crafts by preparing materials; stripping leaves from folioles of raffia "bamboo," barking and pounding lianas to be made into ropes, scraping skins, etc.

The children of a village play in bands, but practical training and the teaching of traditions is carried on at home, under father or 861 mother, according to the /child's/ sex. However, preparation for

826 774 the shadow or immaterial duplicate of the body. The heart and lungs, nlem, are the seat of the intellect and sensibility, especially of the consciousness of good and evil, the seat of the moral and mental personality. It is by way of the nlem that a person's mind is struck, that, for instance, he is made mad; through their évur the beyem do di nlem, eat the nlem, of their victims. The nlem for a time survives death; the nsisim seems to be immortal. Breath, avebe (from vebe, to breathe, derived from vee = to be alive, alert) is characteristic of physiological life (1).

> 1. Among the Ewôndo, the breath, ewundu (Boulou, evunulu = wind) is characteristic of the human being, as is nsisim; animals are not provided with either, that is why they can be eaten. (J. B.)

Strength, tye, tyi, kie, or ki, is somehow external to the individual, independent of him, yet that which insures the cohesion of the elements of the personality. It seems to be particularly localized in the nlem (thoracic organs) and the boo, brain, which is evidently the seat of action (the verb bo = to do, to act), whence the importance of skulls in the ancestral cult, biéti. Ngul, which may also be translated "strength," is more "capacity" or "power," the faculty of making use of tyi. It is impersonal, it pre-exists and survives the individual, who during his lifetime can waste or augment it; it is the basis for magic and sorcery, tyi being in itself neither good nor bad. Everything that exists possesses tyi, including the dead, but living beings possess more than inanimate beings, and men more than other living beings. Sacrifices and prohibitions revalue around this notion, as vocabulary well shows: étyi = prohibition, metyi = blood, atyi = egg, tyik = to cut, to kill, to command, etc., (cf. above p. 25). The dead keep a certain amount of strength, which makes them at the same time potentially dangerous and potentially usable.

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551 A name, jôé, jui, also pre-exists and survives the person it distinguishes, whence the special ties between bemôé /105/, homonymns, and also the need to know a person's name in order to cast a spell upon him, etc. A dead man keeps his name until it is given to one

551 of his descendants, in whose person he will be repeated rather than reembodied. It should be remembered that jɔ́ɔ́ also means "authority," a notion that cannot be dissociated from that of name.

761 828 The cessation of vital functions, awu (from wu, to die), is not thought of as necessarily final: catalepsy, deep coma, anaesthesia, and real death are confused. It is evident that if the body is hurt during awu, a revival is impossible. A ghost, kɔ̂n (Fang, khun), is 754 828 not necessarily physically dead: one of the most feared forms of sorcery, at which the Ndɔ̂n are reputed to be particularly expert, consists of separating a person from his nsisim, shade or double, by giving him the appearance of physical death, then in awakening the body which will thereafter automatically obey the sorcerer's orders and may be used by him for all sorts of ends, to go kill or steal, or, more prosaically, to work his plantations. Persons thus transformed into bekɔ̂n are recognized by their pallor, jerky movements, and haggard expression; they survive the experience /operation/ for only a few months before dying in great physical and moral agony (1).

1. I have reason—but no proof—to believe that this is more than a myth: perhaps the criminal use of a narcotic producing effects similar to those of Pentothal. A kɔ̂n, frightful to see, died at the Sangmélima dispensary in 1947. The judicial inquiry revealed nothing.

[276]

761 Death in the complete sense does not occur for some time after the cessation of vital functions, and funeral rites seem to have had the purpose of detaching the individual from his mortal shell. There 76 were two abodes of the dead. The bemie, those unblemished by ngbwel (sorcery by évu), crossed the river-of-the-west or the sea to go to the village of Zámbe (Zobeyo, Nzame) in a cold country where their nsisim led a life rather like that in a terrestrial village where everything goes well (2). The beyem went down to étɔ̂tɔ̂lan, the

2. According to Trilles, this would have been Venus, otya alu, "the night's torch."

769 also discriminates between the ésayoñ, ancestor cult /112/, and the
64 mvamayoñ, totemic cult. It must be admitted that there is now no
114 chance of obtaining a cross-checking of his theories except on points of detail, although that is no formal condemnation of his theories; it is the consequence of a shortage of researchers, lack of respect on the part of the researchers, or loss of traditions of initiation. The following points may be considered as established:

mvam (émvam) connotes ideas of a forefather, dead or alive, lineal and protective.

[784] akam, protection, is sometimes used in speaking of animals, to indicate the reason for a prohibition; the verb kam having a defending-protecting meaning as well as that of forbidding-prohibiting. All prohibitions are not tied up with these notions, but some are and they may well be individual prohibitions as well as hereditary collective ones, not necessarily involving animals.

Clan markings, mindem, and tattoo marks, mindan, are often connected with a prohibition.

825 There is a whole system of animal symbolism, evident particularly
[787] in tales and augury ("zoomancy," divination by spiders).

Certain animals are connected with initiation cults: very definitely the sɔ̂ and snakes (dendraspis and python); probably the porcupine and tortoise (with feminine rites); perhaps the gorilla (njil; ngil, Johnson's tone 4, the ngil rite having tone 5).

● [55] There does not appear to be any connection between an animal name borne by a person (Mvɔ̂mɔ̂ • Python, Zo'o • Elephant, Ze • Panther, etc.) and the prohibitions he is subject to.

614 Moreover, the following, it seems pretty certain, are not specifi-
825 cally related to totemism:

Alliance, élat or ngbwa, between a person and a particular animal.

A sorcerer's employing an animal, nkuk (observe that nkuk also means "mask") to carry out his sorcery at a distance.

[775] The incarnation of a sorcerer in the body of an animal, élañela (Trilles applies this name to the nkuk).

The temporary incarnation of a dead man in an animal's body.

The first three phenomena often seem to be confused in the minds of present-day Pahouin, and the fourth may be the consequence of this.

773 It is curious that the legend recounted by Trilles about the crocodile, which he considers to be the "national totem," represents

765 This skull cannot, however, be put into the évora biéri
779 right away, it must first be "acknowledged." The rite is analogous to that of the chief's initiation, which has already been described. The skull [577] is carried into the forest, placed upon a kind of altar, and a victim is immolated in its honor. It is sprinkled with lustral water, then with blood. The chief's heir then takes the skull and makes it first "acknowledge" the ancestral skulls, then successively the family and clan totems, and ends with the tribal totem.

768 Thirty days after death the funeral dances or fanki also
779 take place, and then the division of the deceased's property, particularly his wives. His hut usually stays closed throughout this time, with the door barred and the roof covered with thorns so that the deceased's spirit cannot re-enter the house, which would mean making further sacrifices.

The mortuary rites are very complicated anc very solemn among the Fan, especially for an important chief. I have here referred only to totemic rites. The totem will live again later in the person of one of the descendants, usually the grandson, [551] who, in many cases, will have both the name and the totem of his grandfather.

[p. 578-653 not translated]